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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the origins and activities of Chinese youth gangs in the northeast section of the city of Vancouver, Canada over a three year period (1975-1978). More specifically, the study attempted to identify and document the existence of several youth gangs that were believed to be operating in the schools and community; to collect data on their origins and activities; and to consider ways of overcoming some of the school and societal problems caused by the gangs. Structured interviews were held with 13 gang members and with individuals in schools and the community who had some contact with them. There were four gangs operating in Chinatown and its environs at that time. They were composed of recently arrived Hong Kong teenagers between 13 and 19 years of age. The learning problems that this group of Chinese youth experienced gave rise to behavior problems in schools. There were many community problems caused by the gangs. These included shoplifting, theft from automobiles, pickpocketing, and others. This study also makes comparisons between the Chinese youth gangs studied and gangs studied earlier by other researchers. Recommendations are made for the improvement of educational provisions for Chinese youth. (Author/AM)

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CHINESE YOUTH GANGS: AN INVESTIGATION OF THEIR ORIGINS AND ACTIVITIES IN VANCOUVER SCHOOLS

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INTRODUCTION

Mark Twain once wrote: "The Chinese (in North America) are quiet, peaceable, tractable, free from drunkeness and they are as industrious as the day is long. A disorderly Chinaman is rare and a lazy one does not exist." During this century in the United States and Canada, the Chinese have earned a reputation as an industrious, law-abiding group of people who raise their children to respect parental and other forms of authority.

Over the past ten years in the major urban centers of North America, this image of the Chinese has begun to change. The Chinatowns of North America have ceased to be islands of law and order and have instead become places in which the crimes of robbery, assault, prostitution, extortion, gambling, drug trafficking and murder are occurring with increasing frequency.

The crimes are largely the work of gangs of Chinese youth. The trouble began a decade ago when both Canada and the United States adopted less restrictive immigration laws under which large numbers of poorly educated, disaffected youth from Hong Kong began to enter Canada and the United States. These youths have formed gangs and have created a wave of crime and fear. San Francisco, which has the largest Chinese community in North America, has had forty-four gang-related murders since 1969.[1] Vancouver, which has the second largest Chinese community on the continent, has had fewer murders but has had an extensive number of assaults, robberies and extortion incidents. In New York in 1976 alone, there were twenty-seven

arrests for attempted murder.[2] A spokesman for the New York Chinese community recently warned that New York Chinatown, a major tourist and market centre, could become a "Yellow Harlem of shuttered stores and mean streets,"[3] if the activities of Chinese youth gangs are not stopped. In other major centres such as Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston and Toronto the problem of Chinese youth gangs is less severe but is still a major social problem.

The rise of Chinese youth gangs poses major problems for schools and communities they serve. A need thus exists for systematic study of these gangs in order that educators, social workers and legislators have a better understanding of ways to cope with this growing social problem.

THE STUDY AND ITS PURPOSES

This study investigated the origins and activities of Chinese youth gangs in the northeastern section of the city of Vancouver, Canada over a three year period (1975-1978). More specifically, the study attempted to identify and document the existence of several youth gangs that were believed to be operating in the schools and community of northeast Vancouver; to collect data on their origins and activities; and to consider ways of overcoming some of the school and societal problems caused by the gangs.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Chinese Immigration to Canada

Although there are claims that Chinese arrived in Canada as early as 1277,[4] the first documented record of Chinese immigration to Canada occurs in 1858 at the time of the Fraser River gold rush in British Columbia. Several thousand Chinese who had been working in the gold camps of California came to seek their fortune in the new gold fields of the Fraser. After the gold rush petered out in 1866, many of these Chinese left Canada.

When the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway was being built from 1881 to 1885, over 17,000 Chinese labourers were imported to work on its construction. In the period 1895 to 1923 Chinese immigration continued but at a slow pace because of the pressure exerted by unions against the competition of Chinese labour. In 1923 the Chinese Immigration Act was passed. This meant that only students or merchants were allowed into Canada and in the period between 1923 and 1947, only forty-four Chinese entered Canada.[5] With the repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1947, larger numbers of Chinese began to enter Canada, but the 1961 Canadian census showed that there were only 49,000 people of Chinese origin in Canada and they constituted less than 0.3% of the country's population.[6]

In 1967 new Canadian immigration regulations were approved which liberalized entry requirements to Canada. As a result, Canada has experienced large scale immigration in the past decade and Chinese immigration has been an important part of this

increased immigration flow. Most of the Chinese immigrants have come from Hong Kong and many have settled in Vancouver. They have grown to be a sizeable group in the total population of the city of Vancouver. For example, of the 62,000 students in the Vancouver school system in 1977, there were 9,500 students for whom Chinese was their first language.[7] Many of the immigrants that have come since 1967 have been poor, unskilled and uneducated.

Under the 1967 Canadian immigration regulations, entry to Canada was granted under three categories: (1) independent immigrants; (2) sponsored dependents; and (3) nominated relatives. Independent immigrants were individuals able to speak English or French fluently, had jobs waiting for them, were well-educated and had sufficient money to tide themselves through their establishment period. These immigrants experienced minimal difficulty in adjusting to life in Canada.

The immigrant category of sponsored dependents included husband/wives, fathers/mothers, sons or daughters under twenty-one years of age, and grandparents over sixty years of age. The nominated relative category was much broader and included sisters, brothers, uncles, aunts, nephews, in-laws etc. It is with the sponsored dependent and nominated relative categories that most of the cultural assimilation problems have occurred. The independent immigrants of Chinese origin have been highly successful in Canada and today they occupy positions of prestige in government, business and the professions. The sponsored dependent and nominated relative groups have remained isolated from other groups in Canada. These Chinese immigrants, most of whom have come from Hong Kong, are largely unskilled and know

little English. In Vancouver, they have concentrated themselves in Chinatown and its environs, an area in northeastern Vancouver. Living close to Chinatown have enabled these immigrants to preserve their "old country" life styles by being able to work, shop and do business in the Chinese language.

Chinese Youth Gangs in North America

In the United States and Canada early Chinese immigrants formed secret societies to regulate the political, economic, social and recreational life of their communities. The societies also regulated the criminal life of the communities.[8] Since the early Chinese immigrants were not allowed to bring their wives to North America, prostitution, gambling and opium smoking were important past-times in the Chinese worker's life. From time to time, the secret societies fell out with each other. This gave rise to the so-called "Tong wars" which ripped through San Francisco at the turn of this century. Dillon, in his book The Hatchet Man,[9] documents this lurid, violent chapter in American history. He exposes the tragic fate of the average Chinese trapped between the Tongs in a world where hair is worn in a queue to the waist and where the voluminous sleeve of a silken garment hides a razor-sharp weapon.

In the Tong wars era Chinese youth in their late teens and early twenties joined adults in criminal behavior and did not form separate youth gangs. The Chinese referred to these youth as "hatchet boys" and they worked as enforcers. Since Chinatown was a closed community, few outsiders were aware of the criminal activities of the young Chinese. Although

Chinese communities in Canada did not experience Tong wars, secret societies involved in criminal activities did exist and youths were employed as "hatchet boys".

In the period from 1920 to 1950 there are few reports of juvenile crime in the Chinatowns of North America. The Tong wars subsided and immigration from China and Hong Kong was reduced to a trickle. The Chinese communities in America had a serious imbalance of males and females (in 1930 in the U.S. there were 394.7 males for every 100 females) and the birth rate was low.[10] Low immigration and a low birth rate meant that there were few idle youths available to disturb the Chinese communities. The small number of youths who lived in the Chinatowns of Canada and the United States were well-behaved young people preparing themselves for life in the country of their birth.

From 1950 onward the number of Chinese entering United States and Canada began to increase. After 1965 in the United States and after 1967 in Canada the flow of immigration began to increase dramatically. For example, immigration from Hong Kong to Canada increased in one year from 6,297 in 1972 to 14,662 in 1973. Among the immigrants were many teenage children. They came to an unfamiliar environment at a critical stage in their personal and social development. These immigrant youth found themselves shunned by the North American-born, the older China-born and the larger society. Their English was deficient, thus limiting their opportunities for employment. On the other hand, they longed for the cars, the stylish clothes and other attractions that they saw around them in North American society. The teenage

newcomers were made to feel unwanted even in teenage groups conducted by the YMCA, the YWCA, community centres and other institutions. The North American-born Chinese did not exert themselves to include the newcomers and some even refused to have anything to do with the F.O.B. (Fresh Off the Boat) group.

For many teenage immigrants, life in North America actually was inferior to the life they had left behind in Hong Kong. They found themselves without language, without work and without acceptance in a strange land. Hostile and disappointed with the lack of opportunities they believed existed in North America, many of the immigrant youth formed gangs. As early as 1950, reports of gang warfare began to appear in the news. A report from San Francisco told of the:

> "Outbreak of gang fights... street corner hoodlums and robberies have joined the respectable citizens of Chinatown... stories of ruffians squeezed into trucks roaring through streets, to meet other gangs at pre-arranged midnight hours, of bloody fist fights." [11]

By 1975 an article in U.S. News and World Report described Chinese youth gangs as "wolf packs" who hold up people on the street, break into homes and shops, extort money from businessmen for protection and terrorize entire neighbourhoods and schools.

On Chinese youth gangs in Los Angeles, the article stated that:

> "They may demand plane tickets. They may walk into theatres without paying or order meals in restaurants and not pay. One group walked into a fish market and took seven lobsters, then went next door to a restaurant and cooked and ate them. If the owners had objected, they might have wrecked the place." [12]

During the past decade Chinese youth gangs have formed in urban centers in Canada. This is particularly true of Vancouver.

Many of the teenage newcomers to Canada have experienced disappointment in their attempts to succeed in school. Jack Say Yee, a former Vancouver school board member who is of Chinese origin, claims that the formation of Chinese youth gangs results from the pressure schools and parents place on children:

> "Traditionally, Chinese parents want their children to achieve at the highest level, and this usually means university. They put pressure on the child and he or she can't cope because of the language difficulty. He (the student) feels insecure and gets into activities that create problems in the community."[13]

Perhaps one of the most eloquent descriptions of how a gang forms is given by a student writing in the newspaper at Britannia High School, the high school serving Vancouver's Chinatown.

> "When they (the Chinese teenagers) first arrive, they cannot speak English. They go to schools, where there are special English classes. Sometimes, some may be teased and bullied around about their appearances and grammar, so they may drop out of school, embarrassed and ashamed of their poor English. Some decide to joing or form a gang of their own, of other Chinese boys like themselves, to show others they aren't snails and are not going to crawl into their shells..."[14]

The activities of Chinese youth gangs in Vancouver began to gain public notice in 1974 and 1975 with newspaper reports of school disturbances, beatings, extortions, etc. in the northeastern area of the city. This area includes Chinatown and its environs. It was at this time that it was decided to conduct a study of the origins and activities of the gangs in this area.

Data Sources and Data Collection

This study was conducted in Vancouver's Chinatown and its environs. For a number of years there had been newspaper and police reports of Chinese youth gang activity in this area. In 1975 the two researchers decided to undertake a study of the gangs believed to be operating in Chinatown and its environs.

One of the researchers, a Canadian-born Chinese who speaks Cantonese fluently, was able to obtain some names of gang members from friends in the Chinatown community. The researcher then made contact with the gang members, gained their confidence, and got their agreement to being interviewed.

Structured interviews were then held with a total of thirteen gang members. Similar interviews were also held with individuals in schools and the community who had some contact with gang members. Interviews were held with five school administrators, four youth workers, four school counsellors, two teachers of classes for New Canadians, two police officials, a Vancouver School Board member of Chinese extraction, and a secret informant who had access to several of the gangs.

In addition to the structured interviews, data were also gathered through less formal discussions and informal observational techniques. Talks with students, parents and victims of the youth gangs were recorded. The Cantonese-speaking member of the research team toured Chinatown on a regular basis and talked to merchants about gang members. In the course of this touring, regular haunts of the gang members were visited and the activities of the members were observed.

The structured interviews were conducted over the span of eight months in late 1975 and early 1976. Since that time, contact has been maintained with many of the interviewees to provide updated information. The less formal discussions and informal observations that were begun in 1975 have continued to the present.

Data Analysis

Analysis of the data gathered involved coding interview responses and observations into categories and establishing frequencies for each observed or recorded item. From the recorded frequency of occurrence, certain findings were derived.

FINDINGS

The Four Youth Gangs of Chinatown

The interviews with the gang members that were held in the 1975-76 period established that there were four gangs operating in Chinatown and its environs at that time. The gangs were composed entirely of recently arrived Hong Kong teenagers between thirteen and nineteen years of age. The four gangs were: the Phantom Raiders, the Golden Skippers, the Blue Angels and the Golden Wheels.

The findings document the interviews with the gang members and describe events since the time of the interviews in terms of what has happened to the gangs.

Phantom Raiders. This gang was formed in about 1971 and at the time of the interviews it had a membership of about twenty Chinese immigrant youths ranging in age from thirteen to eighteen. They had first met as students in school in a class

for New Canadians. Three members of the gang were interviewed and they said that the gang was formed initially for social purposes. They said that all the gang members had experienced problems in learning English in school and about half of the gang were school dropouts. Those who were still in school said they clashed frequently with other students, particularly Canadian-born Chinese and East Indian immigrants.

In the community, the gang was involved in shoplifting, fights, thievry and gambling. From time to time, gang members aided the activities of the Chung Ching Soccer Club, a young adult gang, which was involved in more serious criminal activities such as drug trafficking, pimping, and extortion.

Golden Skippers. This gang, also known as the Gum Gong, also had a membership of about twenty young Chinese immigrants, who had first met in their New Canadian class. The four gang members interviewed said that the Golden Skippers were formed in about 1972 because the Phantom Raiders felt they were not sophisticated enough to become Raiders. In this sense, the Golden Skippers had lower status than the Phantom Raiders and consequently they were not asked to assist the Chung Ching from time to time. The primary activities of this gang in the community were fighting, shoplifting, and theft of automobile parts.

All the members of ths Golden Skippers were attending school. They all reported difficulty in learning English and most were truant at least half the time.

Blue Angels. Like the Phanton Raiders and Golden Skippers, the Blue Angels gang was composed exclusively of teenage Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong. When first formed in 1971, the gang

was very active in shoplifting, gang fights, altercations with school authorities, etc. but at the time of being interviewed the gang had come under the influence of a youth worker who was involving them in a government assisted community program for the elderly in Chinatown. Members of the gang were involved in organizing entertainment for the elderly, cleaning their homes, helping them do their shopping, etc. Gang membership was dropping and some members were taking on regular jobs.

Golden Wheels. This gang was formed in 1973 initially for social purposes. All its membership were Chinese immigrant youth. Of the total gang membership of eighteen, about half was still in school. The group was active in shoplifting, gambling, bicycle theft and pick-pocketing. The four gang members interviewed reported numerous problems at school such as fighting, swearing at teachers, and truancy. One unique feature of the Golden Wheels group was that all its members had part-time jobs in restaurants and night clubs as bus boys or kitchen help.

School Problems Caused by the Gangs

Interviews were held with school personnel (administrators, counsellors, New Canadian class teachers) and a secret informant to find out what problems were caused by Chinese youth gangs in schools.

When an immigrant child first comes to a Vancouver school, he spends a full year in a class for New Canadians where he is given basic instruction in English. At the end of this year, the child in assigned to a regular classroom on the basis of his or her age. He or she continues to receive some special instruction in English, but in general, is expected to fit into

the regular classroom and its pattern of studies. Vancouver has a large, diverse immigrant student population. Forty-two per cent of the students in the Vancouver school system come from homes where English is spoken as a second language. The largest single group of immigrant children in schools is the Chinese.

The school personnel interviewed were in general agreement that Chinese immigrant students experienced greater difficulty in learning English than any other ethnic group. It should be noted, however, that not all Chinese immigrant students experienced the same degree of difficulty in learning English. Chinese teenage newcomers who had been educated in English schools in Hong Kong did well in the New Canadian classes and were ready for regular classroom work before a year would be over. Chinese immigrant children who had come when they were pre-schoolers or who came when they were in the elementary grades also experienced little difficulty. Because these children had come to Canada early in their lives, they were less steeped in their former culture. They were also exposed at an earlier age to the new culture. The group that experienced the most difficulty with English and with adjusting to life in Canadian schools were the Chinese immigrant teenagers who had come from Hong Kong with no instruction in English and very often no school experience at all. It is from this group exclusively that the youth gangs were formed.

The learning problems that this group of Chinese youth experienced gave rise to behavior problems in schools. School personnel reported truancy to be very common as well as incidents

of "ah fai" behavior. "Ah fai" is a form of teenage gang behavior that was brought from Hong Kong. The behavior can be best described as "basic greaser" or "teddy boy" behavior to which an overlay of Bruce Lee machismo has been added. In schools "ah fai" behavior is exhibited by loitering in the halls, flirting with girls, starting every sentence with a swear word, constantly engaging in fighting, putting sand into teachers' gas tanks, sending the principal gift-wrapped faeeces, etc.

According to school personnel, violence is a problem in schools. Teachers have been threatened and students, particularly Canadian-born Chinese, have been roughed-up.

Students have been the victims of extortion efforts by gangs in schools. In one incident, a male Canadian-born Chinese in grade ten was approached by a gang member and the following is the reported conversation between the two:

Gang member: "Do you have fifty dollars?"

Grade ten student: "What for?"

Gang member: "You probably need that much for protection."

Grade ten student: "What do I need protection for?"

Gang member: "You never know what will happen to you. If you give me fifty dollars, I know someone who will protect you."

Grade ten student: "I don't need protection and I don't have fifty dollars."

Gang member: "Maybe forty dollars will do. I will talk to your protector and will take him down to Chinatown and buy him a meal and he will protect you.

Grade ten student: "I don't need it."

Several days later, the grade ten student was beaten up on the school grounds during lunch hour by a group of youths

armed with nunchaku sticks*. It was several weeks before the student recovered and when he returned to school he was once again asked for protection money and this time he paid it. In a similar incident, a student was forced to go to the bank and withdraw $200.00 from his account and hand it over to a group of four gang members. In neither of these two extortion incidents were the victims willing to give evidence because of the fear of reprisal.

Community Problems Caused by the Gangs

Structured interviews were held with community youth workers, police officials, and a school board member for information on community problems caused by youth gangs. In addition, numerous discussions were held with Chinatown residents for their opinions on gang problems.

Shoplifting, theft from automobiles, pick-pocketing, disruption of community activities, beating of Canadian-born Chinese, gambling, trafficking in soft drugs, and extortion were all mentioned by the interviewees as common offences. Over 50% of the members of all four Chinese youth gangs had juvenile delinquency records. In the Golden Wheels gang, over 90% of the members had records.

The discussions with businessmen in Chinatown revealed that the gangs refused to pay for goods or services. One restauranteur reported that a gang, after eating, told him to "put the bill on our account". The account was, of course, never settled. In another restaurant, a Chinese youth gang started a fight which resulted in some breakage of tableware. To the surprise of the

* An instrument consisting of two clubs connected loosely at one end with a rope. It originated as a tool for flailing rice.

manager, a gang spokesman asked for $200.00 from the manager to ensure that a similar incident would not occur again. The money was given.

The Situation of the Four Gangs Today

This study was limited to an investigation of the origins and activities of Chinese youth gangs in Vancouver's Chinatown and its environs. Chinese youth have existed and continue to exist in other areas of Vancouver. Similarly, this study did not examine the activities of the young adult gangs that exist in Vancouver. These gangs are comprised of individuals from nineteen to thirty years of age and they are engaged in more serious kinds of criminal activities, such as trafficking in hard drugs, extensive extortion, etc. Mention has been made of the young adult gang called the Chung Ching. Other gangs are the Bak Mei (White Eyebrow) gang and the Lotus Family.

Currently (March, 1978) none of the four gangs exists as it did at the time of the interviews in 1976. The Blue Angels gang has dispersed and its members have largely entered the work force. The Golden Skippers still exist, but are not active. In the case of both the Phantom Raiders and the Golden Wheels, a large number of the youths have graduated to young adult gangs, namely the Chung Ching and the Lotus Family.

Police officials report In late 197[illegible], a new and powerful Chinese youth gang called the Ching Tong emerged in Vancouver. Its territorial base was not just Chinatown but the whole city of Vancouver. The gang has a definite hierarchical structure for governance and operation consisting of a leader and three deputy leaders, councillors, fighters, couriers, and the general membership.

The Ching Tong has elaborate ceremonies relating to admission, secret oaths, etc. Membership is open only to Chinese immigrant youth. The gang has been successful in recruiting members in all schools in which Chinese immigrant youth are enrolled. Initially, the activities of the gang were largely social, but more recently the gang has been turning to criminal pursuits. There has been considerable speculation that the Ching Tong has connections with the Hong Kong Triad societies or the San Francisco gangs but no hard data exist on this question.

DISCUSSION

Gang Theory in Relationship to Chinese Youth Gangs

In the sociological literature the gang is usually seen as a kind of primary group, highly structured, relatively permanent and autonomous, possessing a well-developed delinquent subculture. The gang is also seen as a means by which its members develop collective solutions to their common problems. In doing so, bonds of loyalty and solidarity are developed.

The investigators have reviewed the work of major theorists and researchers[15] in gang behavior and juvenile delinquency to determine the extent to which the findings of this study on Chinese youth gangs can be interpreted in the light of existing theory and empirical evidence. The authors have concluded that the work of Cloward and Ohlin[16] coupled with that of Spergel[17] offers the best theoretical framework at this time for the analysis of Chinese youth gang behavior.

The basic premise advanced by Cloward and Ohlin is that delinquent subcultures develop when a society establishes certain success-goals for youth and the same time provide youth with few legitimate opportunities to successfully attain the goals. In the absence of legitimate means or opportunities for attaining the success-goals, delinquency or crime becomes an alternate way of attaining them. Thus frustrated and alienated youth form gangs to achieve the success-goals through illegitimate means.

Cloward and Ohlin suggest that there are three major orientations in the delinquent subculture: (1) the criminal orientation; (2) the conflict orientation; and (3) the retreatist orientation. The criminal orientation is concerned with theft and material producing delinquencies; the conflict orientation is concerned with violence, fighting and inter-gang conflict; and the retreatist orientation is based on drug use.

In testing this theory of three major orientations in the delinquent subculture, Spergel found the criminal orientation was actually composed of two sub-orientations - racketeering and theft. Whether the gang adopted racketeering or theft as its principal illegitimate means of achieving the success-goals depended upon the situation in the neighbourhood in which the gang was located. Spergel maintains that racketeering emerges where there are few legitimate means of achieving success-goals but ample opportunities to learn and use the illegitimate means for achieving the goals. In other words, if youth have connections with people who are already involved in criminal activity (e.g. gambling, prostitution, extortion etc.) it is easy for youths to go the racketeering route. If, however,

youth have more limited access to either legitimate or illegitimate means for reaching success-goals, theft becomes the subcultural means by which delinquent youth attain the desired success-goals. Spergel adds further that the conflict orientation develops where there are extremely limited legitimate or illegitimate means of achieving success. Here youth create a special kind of opportunity - gang fighting. Through this means an individual can earn a "rep" or reputation as a feared and respected gang fighter. Finally, Spergel identifies the retreatist orientation as a special variant in which drug use becomes an end in itself.

Success-Goals for Chinese Youth

Parents of Chinese origin place a great deal of importance on education for their children. Education is seen as the key for future success in life in terms of social status and high income. Consequently, it is not surprising that one finds persons of Chinese extraction occupying a disproportionately high percentage of the positions in the professions in Canada. Most of these persons are, however, either Canadian-born Chinese, Chinese who emigrated to Canada at an early age, or Chinese who knew considerable English before they came to Canada.

Chinese teenagers who came to Canada with little knowledge of English face a serious problem within their families. Their parents expect them to succeed in school The difficulties the youth encounter in learning English, however, make attainment of success unlikely. These youths see around them all the evidence (well-paying jobs, high priced cars, etc.) of what success in school can potentially provide. They see this

evidence particularly among the Canadian-born Chinese. Success is denied to these immigrant youth because of their inadequacy in English. As a consequence, they do not have the legitimate means to attain the success-goals and they have to turn to illegitimate means to attain them.

The Criminal Orientation of Chinese Youth Gangs

In terms of the theoretical analysis of gang behavior provided by Cloward and Ohlin and Spergel, it would appear that Chinese youth gangs studied have a criminal orientation rather than a conflict or retreatist orientation. Although this study revealed fighting as a gang activity, it was not an overwhelming pre-occupation similar to that found in the conflict-oriented gangs studied by Yablonsky.[18] The taking of drugs by gang members in this study was discovered to be of minor importance. It can be said, therefore, that these gangs did not have a retreatist orientation.

In his study of gangs with criminal orientations, Spergel found two sub-orientations: (1) the theft orientation - where limited illegitimate opportunities existed to attain success-goals; and (2) the racketeering orientation - where ample illegitimate opportunities existed to attain the success goals. In this study, both the theft sub-orientation and the racketeering sub-orientation were present. The investigators found that theft was the predominant activity among those gangs (e.g. Golden Skippers) with no contact with the young adult gangs; whereas racketeering (e.g. extortion) was an important activity among those gangs (e.g. Phantom Raiders) who did have contact with the young adult gangs (e.g. theChung Ching).

Concluding Statement

Canada is one of the leading nations in the world for attracting immigrants with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. When the immigrant arrives - full of a mixture of optimism and apprehension - he or she faces real linguistic, cultural and social obstacles that must be overcome before acceptance as an equal participant in Canadian society is granted.

All of the gang members in this study had high hopes for doing well when they came to Canada. Instead of experiencing success, they encountered failure and frustration in coping with the demands placed upon them by their parents and the schools. How the educational and socio-cultural problems of Chinese teenage immigrants can be met is a complex question. The school and community personnel that the investigators interviewed were of limited help in offering comprehensive suggestions for dealing with the problem of helping Chinese immigrant youth adjust to life in Canadian society. The interviewees did mention the need for examining the effectiveness of New Canadian classes, for improving counselling and guidance services, and for providing more community youth workers. Certainly the success that the community worker in this study had with the Blue Angels gang would suggest that the interviewees' suggestions have merit. The investigators are of the opinion, however, that more exhaustive study is required of the problems and needs of these immigrant youth before firm suggestions for improved programs and services can be advanced.[19] This study has only served to explore some of the dimensions of this social problem; other studies will have to be done to provide some of the answers.

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19. Some good work has been done in this area in Canada. See Aaron Wolfgang (ed.), Education of Immigrant Students: Issues and Answers, (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1975) and Mary Ashworth, Immigrant Children and Canadian Schools, (Toronto; McClelland and Stewart, 1975).